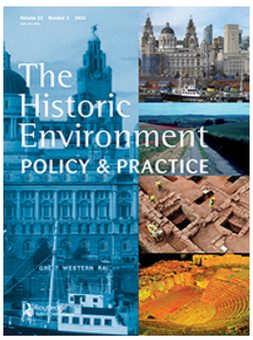

The Historic Environment: Policy & Practice

ISSN: (Print) (Online) Journal homepage: https://www.tandfonline.com/loi/yhen20

Reimagining Nashville: The Changing Place of Country

Aleen Leigh Stanton & John Schofield

To cite this article: Aleen Leigh Stanton & John Schofield (2021) Reimagining Nashville: The Changing Place of Country, The Historic Environment: Policy & Practice, 12:2, 203-221, DOI: 10.1080/17567505.2021.1889090

To link to this article: https://doi.org/10.1080/17567505.2021.1889090

THE HISTORIC ENVIRONMENT: POLICY & PRACTICE
2021, VOL. 12, NO. 2, 203–221
https://doi.org/10.1080/17567505.2021.1889090

Routledge
Taylor & Francis Group

Reimagining Nashville: The Changing Place of Country

Aleen Leigh Stanton and John Schofield

University of York, York, UK

ABSTRACT

For as long as there has been country music, Nashville has been its spiritual if not actual home. This city of recording studios, rehearsal spaces, music shops and venues is one of a small number of cities associated with a specific music genre and the creative cultures and attention this inevitably attracts. But just as heritage is never fixed and always becoming, Nashville - and the perception of Nashville - is changing, to the point where it may no longer have the primacy it once held. In a globalised music industry where not all country music is from Nashville, nor even the United States, new 'Nashvilles' emerge and grow, commensurate with actual or relative decline in the prominence of the original. This might be considered a heritage dilemma (heritage 'at risk', and a challenge to traditional views on authenticity), but equally the argument can be made for a new heritage replacing or augmenting the old. By considering the city's 'at risk' status, and assessing the fictional representation of a reimagined Nashville in the Scottish city of Glasgow in the 2018 film *Wild Rose*, we explore this dilemma, and its challenge to heritage convention.

KEYWORDS

Country Music, Intangible Cultural Heritage, Built Heritage, Nashville, Glasgow

Introduction

Playing the Grand Ole Opry stage is a rite of passage in country music live performance, a place for artists to pay 'active homage to a living past.'[1] When the Grand Ole Opry radio show moved from the downtown Ryman Auditorium to its new home at Opryland on the outskirts of Nashville in 1974, a large circular piece of the Ryman's stage floor was cut out and installed centre stage at the new Grand Ole Opry venue, as a nod to tradition and continuity.[2] The wooden circle is a clear example of 'the material spaces of sound' that Connell and Gibson describe.[3] To this day, when a new artist plays the Opry House for the first time, they call it coming 'into the circle.' Standing on those worn, golden-blond wooden boards in the footsteps of so many others, the circle represents the spot where country music's past and present meet, where its built heritage meets its cultural memory, where tangible and intangible coexist. This makes a city like Nashville, Tennessee more than a place. It is a concept of mythical proportions, its physical spaces becoming both performative spaces and portals through which intangible cultural heritage passes from past to present, and present to future. For country music in particular, the mecca continues to be Nashville: a place where musicians and music-lovers have long converged to explore their collective country music heritage and identity.

CONTACT John Schofield john.schofield@york.ac.uk Department of Archaeology, University of York, York, UK.

This reliance on a single iconic place (or 'mecca') raises two challenges: the first is distance. For a scene that is rapidly expanding beyond its traditional homeland and fast becoming a global phenomenon,[4] how can Nashville serve those country music fans and aspiring musicians who live thousands of miles away, not least in the UK where the scene is large, youthful and expanding? Might it not be better to encourage alternatives which in themselves could become meccas in time? Or if not alternatives, then 'new originals', which create their own memories, their own identity, and their own heritage? With the hugely successful annual 'Country 2 Country' (C2C) festivals in the UK, with its Bluebird Cafe Stage taken straight from Nashville (and managed by the same team), this transfer is already happening. Country artists also regularly visit Berlin, Amsterdam, and Australia, places which also now host annual country festivals and events.

The second challenge concerns the future of Nashville itself, and especially the future of its most famous street, Music Row, recently listed on the US National Trust for Preservation's eleven most 'endangered' sites in the country.[5] Conservation issues in Nashville include rapid development, gentrification, demolition threats, and tourism. In order to protect the future of Nashville's historical built fabric, would it make sense to encourage new music cities to develop in order to take pressure off of the original 'Music City'? We turn to this theme in the final section of the paper.

Building on a previous broader study of heritage and country music,[6] this study looks at Nashville as a place, both real and imagined, from three related perspectives. First, it examines the phenomenon of Nashville as global symbolic geography. Why does it hold such esteemed status as the home of country music? Second, it considers the practical conservation and preservation issues facing Nashville's physical heritage, with recent development pressures and the news that Music Row has been placed on the Endangered Places List. Third and finally, it concludes by reflecting on the wider implications of replicating heritage and identity, tangible and intangible. The paper is based on previously unpublished research from the National Trust for Historic Preservation and the National Park Service, National Register listings, Nashville City Council planning policy documents, interviews in country music media, and songs themselves where music and built heritage issues intersect. We also develop a related narrative around these themes centred on a recent musical drama, the film *Wild Rose*.[7] The film presents the story of Rose-Lynn Harlan, an aspiring country star from the back-streets of Glasgow who seeks country stardom against the odds. How Nashville is reimagined within the context of an emerging British country scene is a compelling and timely narrative which, we argue, has wider implications on heritage, place and identity.

Nashville as Imagined Geography

In 'Nashville Grey Skies,' a song that a recent BBC documentary deemed the 'unofficial anthem of UK country,' British country act The Shires sing: 'We can build our own Nashville/Underneath these grey skies/And people will come, come from far and wide/ They'll leave their village greens and big cities behind/We can build our own Nashville/It's about time.'[8] Lyrics like these provide a window into 'the politics of place and cultural heritage.'[9] Thanks to 'the magic of popular music [to] articulate individual and collective experiences,' analysing music including lyrics allows us to tap into the 'sociological imagination.'[10] Here, the shared experience is constructing a music scene from the

ground up, directly in relation to the imagined geography of Nashville. When the Shires sing, 'They'll say it's way too cold for cut-off jeans' and 'Won't get that Southern sun, we'll be dancing in the rain,' they position themselves alongside, but outside, the Southern voice in country music's conversation. As they themselves have said, '[I]t was really important for us from day one to sing about stuff that is real. We can't sing about trucks, we can't sing about drinking whisky and sitting on tailgates. That's not stuff that we know. The truth for us is trying to build our Nashville, over here.'[11] In 'Nashville Grey Skies', the so-called 'Music City, U.S.A.' becomes the centre, the model, and the hope to build a metaphorical 'Music City, UK.'

British country's imagined geography and its real fascination with Nashville can also be heard in Dexeter's 'Nashville, You and Me.'[12] This song opens by referencing heritage sites associated with the history of country music, including the Grand Ole Opry and RCA Studio B: 'We were at the side of the Opry stage/All dressed in black/Gettin' blind drunk/ With Johnny Cash/Helping Elvis with the blues/At Studio B.' As Mark Duffett observed in his study of blues pilgrimages in the Delta, heritage sites 'can act to materialize parts of the landscape … and help to make blues myths function *in place* at a deep, ontological level.'[13] The same is true for country music. The Opry, Studio B, and other locations function as a powerful, geographic shorthand in 'Nashville, You and Me,' a way for the duetting singers to place themselves within the built environment of the music that connects them. Referencing the neon honky-tonk signs lining Nashville's Lower Broadway, they sing: 'You light me up like Broadway,' and as the refrain comes around, they declare: 'I believe that Nashville is you and me/A few thousand miles, doesn't feel that far/'Cause the heart of Tennessee is in your heart.'[14]

By classifying country as something you carry within, Dexeter has made Nashville's geography and built heritage 'meaningful and navigable' for British audiences.[15] Nashville is transformed into a portable heritage – the tangible made intangible. It is the values that Nashville represents that are carried within. In the song, Nashville and its associated landmarks serve as a symbolic geography where the mythology of country music plays out, and whose streets British fans can explore in their imaginations.[16] This symbolic geography provides listeners with a metaphorical foundation for their identity and shared experience in country music heritage on both sides of the Atlantic that is as solid as any literal foundation. In this way, place becomes intangible.

The question remains why Nashville has become British country music's adopted hometown. Why not a home-grown city like Liverpool, London or Glasgow? For a time in the 1960s, local country music circles took to calling Liverpool the 'Nashville of the North.'[17] In the 1980s, ethnographer Ruth Finnegan observed that at local British country music events the 'development of the country and western recording industry, especially in Nashville, was … part of the shared consciousness … "Newmarket is *our* Nashville," one [concert-goer] said' loyally of their local town, situating it in reference to the giant country music metropolis.[18] Neither Liverpool nor Newmarket became the hometown of the national country scene. Instead, a foreign city – Nashville – remains the touchstone and the ultimate reference point.

Nashville's very symbolism makes it an intangible, and therefore portable, piece of cultural capital. You don't need to create another Nashville elsewhere in order to create authentic country music. You only need to export Nashville's values to do that. Nashville

as a place is intangible and exportable to the heart of every country music fan and musician outside of Tennessee.

As the music of The Shires and Dexeter demonstrates, UK country has managed to build a strong sense of self despite being a diffuse national scene that is lacking a central geographic location. In a recent mapping of the British country music scene's venues, Stanton and Schofield demonstrated that the network of small, specialised clubs can form the basis of a significant local scene, while the larger nationally-recognised clubs or festival venues host mostly non-country acts.[19] UK country radio shows are broadcast from an anonymous BBC studio, not a specialised, iconic venue like the Ryman Auditorium or the Grand Ole Opry. So far, the conditions have not been right for a built heritage of British country music to emerge. Perhaps not enough time has elapsed to allow for a concentration of country music-related venues and businesses to develop in any given town or city in the UK.

Because the British country music scene does not have a physical place around which to rally, Nashville remains that place. One might ask why not Austin or Bakersfield? Because Nashville, unlike other cities, has become the accepted commercial centre of the genre.[20] The city's reputation as the location of the 'greatest hits' of events in country music history, the origin of the 'Nashville Sound', and the dominant centre of country music record production since the 1950s, functions as a form of authorised musical heritage,[21] a heritage that recognises Nashville as its Mecca, the Vatican, the holy city.[22] Nashville tells the outside world that it is the epitome of all things Country, which may explain why British country musicians and fans choose to anchor themselves so directly in relation to its physical geography and built heritage. Britain's adoption of Nashville as a cultural beacon presents an example of how 'the legacies, aura, and influences of distinct musical pasts translate in the cut and thrust of contemporary music scenes.'[23] It is also a clear example of how music – and the places deeply associated with particular genres of music – can serve as invisible, intangible cultural values and cultural capital.

Wild Rose

The 2018 film *Wild Rose* opens with a clever trick of imagined geography. The first thing we see, as viewers, is a map of Nashville, Tennessee. Tacked up on a nondescript wall, someone has pinned a postcard of the Ryman Auditorium at the very centre of the map. We quickly learn that that someone is Rose-Lynn Harlan. We also learn that the nondescript wall is not any wall – it is the wall of her prison cell. During her 12 months inside, Rose-Lynn has used the map to preserve her sense of self, to maintain a dream, and to live in her chosen 'somewhere' a world away from her current circumstances.

And so begins *Wild Rose*'s relationship with the imagined geography and built heritage of Nashville, a theme that remains a constant presence throughout the film, and which we visit towards its end. When Rose-Lynn is released from prison on the same day we meet her, she goes straight to Glasgow's Grand Ole Opry (Figure 1) where she worked before incarceration. We see her in her white fringed leather jacket and matching boots (although struggling to walk, given the ankle-tag!), walking past houses on Glasgow's grey streets, seemingly out of place and dressed for an entirely different city. After arguing with her mother about her country music aspirations, we see her putting the map back up, complete with the Ryman postcard, in her old bedroom at home. Eventually we also

Figure 1. The Grand Ole Opry on a foggy day in Glasgow (Source: Author).

see her reclaim the Glasgow Opry stage from the balladeer who replaced her, proceeding to deliver a raucous celebration of her release from prison.

Film reviewers praised Jessie Buckley's portrayal of Rose-Lynn in the film.[24] Edelstein, for example, begins by stating: 'This might seem corny, but so is a lot of country music, and being corny doesn't make it untrue. When, in the film *Wild Rose*, the lying, foul-mouthed, unstable, Glaswegian derelict single mother and ex-con Rose-Lynn begins singing "Country Girl" or "Peace in This House" on the stage of Glasgow's own Grand Ole Opry, a kind of spiritual nobility settles over her. All at once, she's centred, producing sounds that aren't her but aren't *not* her, because they come from somewhere she can access only when she listens to Patsy Cline, Kitty Wells, or Bonnie Raitt, when her sadness and fear and longing to know who she truly is find their purest expression.'[25] He concludes, noting how, '[T]he script sets you up for a fairy-tale resolution, then wisely yanks it away: good fake-out, better – richer – punch line. The final sequence dodges (or elides) many of the movie's central logistical dilemmas, but the song ("Glasgow," written by Mary Steenburgen, Caitlyn Smith, and Kate York) and the performance are so rousing it almost doesn't matter. Like the best country music, the movie finds its own kind of truth.'[26]

The reviewers agree that actress Jessie Buckley who plays Rose-Lynn is an extremely good country singer. Life imitated art when she performed a set including some of her own songs at the 2019 Long Road Country and Americana Festival in the UK, her stage appropriately replicating a small down-town bar in Nashville.

The narrative of *Wild Rose* centres around Rose-Lynn getting herself to Nashville. In fact, she identifies so much with country music's heritage that, at one point in the film, she declares herself an American born in the wrong country. That is a strong statement, and a strong indication that there is more to her dream of Nashville than fame and worldly success. It has more to do with history, identity, and place.

After a few setbacks, Nashville is eventually within reach for Rose-Lynn. Through gumption, support from others (including notably BBC Radio 2's Country DJ Bob Harris, who performs a cameo with American country star Ashley McBryde), and a commitment to 'three chords and the truth' (words from her tattoo borrowed from Harlan Howard) and to 'getting whatever's in there out', as Rose-Lynn says at one point, Rose-Lynn finally makes it to Nashville. It's both exactly and not at all what she expected. At first, the joy and specialness of the occasion is palpable – the drive from the airport, the warm air and the road signs that pronounce 'next exit Nashville.' However that specialness begins to break when, as the taxi driver unloads her luggage at a non-descript roadside motel straight out of every dusty Americana dream, she realises her driver is a struggling singer with a trunk of CDs to hawk. The crack deepens during a short conversation at the motel check-in. The weary woman behind the counter resignedly offers some wisdom she tells all of the newcomers – 'May all your heartbreaks be songs, and may all your songs be hits.' It is not clear whether she really means it.

But Rose-Lynn is not deterred. The imagined geography of Nashville is unfolding before her – the streets and buildings on her old map have become reality. She is finally in her place. Scenes show Rose-Lynn walking down Broadway, going to the honky-tonks (complete with another American country star Kacey Musgraves playing in the background), and soaking up the built heritage (in this case the buildings and the events and activities they support) that makes Nashville both distinctive and iconic.

The climax of this Nashville sequence takes place at the Ryman Auditorium. We accompany Rose-Lynn when she takes a guided tour of the historic venue. The postcard on her map has finally become real. During the tour, she breaks away from the group to discover the main stage. Silently she takes her position at the microphone, while two musicians are in conversation and rehearsal in the background. She begins to sing to the empty theatre and one of the musicians joins in. It is the most transcendent moment in the film. Leaving from the side entrance into the alleyway, she strikes up a conversation with a staff member, who is quick to tell her that she would not believe how many people do that, leaving the tour and singing on the empty stage. She is one of very many, echoing her mother's earlier comment: 'Do you know how many talented singers there are out there?' In that critical moment in the Ryman alleyway, the magical imagined Nashville becomes mere bricks and mortar. It is just a place in the end, and crucially not her place. On watching this scene we were reminded of Bob Harris's comment to Rose-Lynn when they met earlier in the film at his BBC office: on her posing the rhetorical question, 'Whoever heard of a country singer from Glasgow?', Bob replies: 'Why not?', and 'You've got a great voice; what do you want to say?'

In Mark Kermode's review, he notes that, '[D]espite the apparent disjunction between the rowdy stages of Rose-Lynn's Glaswegian life and the hallowed halls of Nashville's Ryman Auditorium (former home of the Grand Ole Opry), [Screenwriter] Nicole Taylor finds transatlantic common ground between the grass-roots struggles that lie deep in the heart of this music, wherever it is played. "There's a reason country is really popular in

Scotland", Taylor told me when I interviewed her at the BFI Southbank recently. "It's like a suppository for the emotionally constipated!"'[27]

Wild Rose throws into question what it means for a place to be '*our* place.' Can Rose-Lynn really be a country music star if she's not from America? Can she really declare Nashville to be her place? Can she be who she truly is, and be where she wants to be? *Wild Rose* plays with our perception of what constitutes a happy ending and a full resolution. But this makes sense especially when we look at heritage as ever-evolving and ever-changing, just like identity, and just like the cities we inhabit. We make these places our own but they also comprise the memories and identities that make up the heritage of thousands of others. For Rose-Lynn, this means she is inspired by using shared country music values to create a different but parallel authentic country music heritage in Glasgow.

After the alleyway conversation, Rose-Lynn returns to Glasgow. She is changed. She has seen her imagined geography, and has developed a stronger sense of reality, purpose and identity as a result. Rose-Lynn has realised she is only one of the many who idolise Nashville. Despite this realisation, seeing Nashville still gave Rose-Lynn the inspiration to move on, highlighting the important aesthetic inspirational values that heritage can impart. Rose-Lynn ultimately recognises that you can go to Nashville, as many have done, but you can also bring Nashville home, and create a new and distinctive Nashville wherever you are. In the final scene of the film, we see Rose-Lynn onstage at the Celtic Connections festival, singing 'Glasgow,' a rousing tribute to her real hometown to a hometown crowd. But the soundtrack underlying that final scene could just as easily have been The Shires song 'Nashville Grey Skies' with its fitting refrain, 'We'll build our own Nashville/Underneath these grey skies.'

Conserving Nashville

From afar, as in *Wild Rose*, country music's 'holy city' appears a shining beacon. Up close, the picture is not so clear. The city has been facing serious conservation issues related to development pressures, demolition, marketing, and tourism.[28] This next section will leave behind the mythology of Nashville the city and instead analyse the conservation situation as it exists today, on the ground.

First, it is important to note that American country music's built heritage does not exist solely in Nashville; that it is diverse in form and geographically dispersed. Throughout the country, points out Bill Malone, 'the country church, the county schoolhouse, the village barn dance, and the family parlor all occupy honored places in the history of country music as shaping forces in the evolution of the genre.'[29] Likewise, honky-tonk and dance hall culture created a built heritage landscape in the Southwest, notably in Texas and in California.[30] As Dawidoff has described it: 'The reverence that the men and women of Massachusetts reserve for their meeting houses, Texans reserve for their dance halls.'[31] Further east, in Appalachia, that reverence is held for the vernacular architecture of box houses, like the 'old homeplaces' once owned by the Carter Family or Loretta Lynn.[32] For the purposes of this study, however, Nashville – and in particular, Music Row – remain the focus, and the city's conservation issues stand in direct contrast to its central role as a symbol of stability and steadfastness in the country music imagination.

The country music industry consolidated in Nashville post-1945, and by 1963 roughly half of all records released in the US came from Nashville studios, many of them on Music Row.[33] Music Row is one mile away from downtown, covering an area 1.3 miles long and 0.8 miles wide.[34] Originally a streetcar suburb, Music Row was far enough away from the centre to allow early music entrepreneurs such as Owen Bradley to take advantage of the lower property prices and repurpose the original residences into studios and offices.[35] Today, the heart of Music Row is concentrated along 16th and 17th Avenues and surrounding streets west of downtown Nashville (Figure 2).

Music Row's aesthetic appearance is surprisingly underwhelming. Throughout its history, the neighbourhood's gradual, organic development has resulted in architectural 'schizophrenia.'[36] As Kosser has described it:

> There are mainly three types of buildings on Music Row today: old houses remade into offices; a few office buildings that look as if they were actually designed by architects; and one- or two-storey buildings that look as if they were thrown together overnight by an ambitious guy who brought a truckload of concrete and cinder blocks, started slappin' them together, and by the end of the night has put up a building a bit too big for the planning commission to knock down with a small bulldozer.[37]

Music Row always seems to have had this slap-dash, dilapidated reputation. In 1968, one observer wrote: 'Some of the buildings are old with wrinkled faces that tell their age by loose hinges and sagging windows … the general look of the neighbourhood isn't the best.'[38] Interestingly, at the same time, this mixed bag of dilapidated architecture has contributed to Music Row's distinctiveness and iconic image,[39] contrasting with the increasingly homogenised and impersonal high-rise of similar cultural industry hubs such as London, New York, and Los Angeles.[40]

Music Row made the news in 2014 after the proposed demolition of RCA Studio A sparked public outcry and forced the city to re-examine its conservation policies.[41]

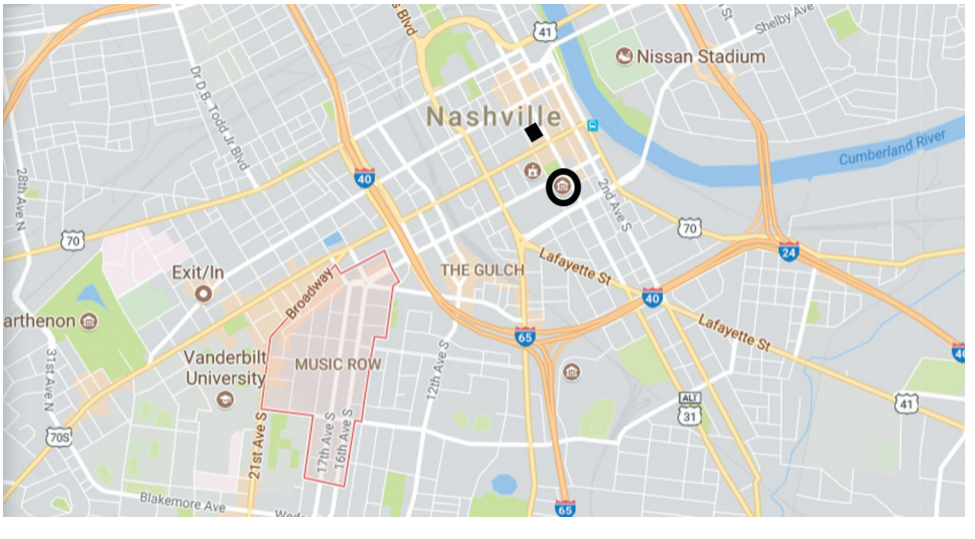

Figure 2. Music Row, outlined in red at bottom left, in its urban context. For reference, locations of the Ryman Auditorium and the Country Music Hall of Fame are indicated with a black square and a black circle, respectively (Source: Google Maps).

A last-minute philanthropic donation saved Studio A, but conservation issues continue to trouble Music Row.[42] Development pressures burden the iconic neighbourhood: between 2008 and 2017, 28 new developments were proposed in and around Music Row, and between 2013 and 2015, 35 historic music-related buildings were demolished in the area.[43] The city's drive to develop is worsened by a planning system that lacks preservation incentives and a music industry undergoing radical change.[44] It has become commonplace for Music Row recording studio owners to be offered a one thousand to four thousand percent buyout of what they originally paid.[45] With rising rents and falling profits, the offer is hard to resist. Development on Music Row reflects a general trend happening across the city; the Nashville skyline is changing (Figure 3).

The British country music scene, with its symbolic stake in Nashville's geography, has been weighing in on the changes. Introducing Andrew Combs's song 'Dirty Rain' on his programme, BBC Scotland country radio host Ricky Ross called it a 'nostalgic lament for wide open spaces, really a protest against Nashville's rapid gentrification,' and continued by commenting, '[W]e [the BBC team] witnessed this first-hand last year; everywhere you go in Nashville these days is pretty well a building site, and so many lovely old things, so many institutions are going and new things are coming in and we're not quite all sure [what direction] it's going to go.'[46] Fellow radio host Bob Harris was similarly uncertain,

Figure 3. Looking down 4th Avenue South towards the Country Music Hall of Fame in 2011 (top) and 2017 (bottom). The Hall of Fame is now dwarfed by three major developments in its immediate vicinity (Top Image Source: Author; Bottom: Google Street Maps).

stating on his own show: 'People who go regularly to Nashville, or even for people who don't, the changes that are taking place architecturally in Nashville now are just dramatic, aren't they?'. His guest, American country musician Marty Stuart, answered: 'It's a bit of a David and Goliath situation over there [on Music Row] right now. The town is growing *so* fast, a lot of glass-block buildings going up. Old Nashville is getting gobbled up by New Nashville, but it's just, the time is rollin' on.'[47]

The face of Nashville may one day become unrecognisable to country music fans. Part of the issue could be a lack of consensus about how to determine the significance of historic structures connected to music heritage, leaving them vulnerable to development.[48] In contrast with the UK, in the US, historic preservation and music heritage rarely overlap.[49] Institutionalised standards, such as the *National Historic Preservation Act* (1966) and the criteria for inclusion on the National Register of Historic Places (36 CFR 60.4) focus on evaluating significance based on age and architectural aesthetics. Music-related historic buildings tend to rely on associative value for their significance, and often the 'something once happened here' argument is tenuous to make. On their own, buildings like the ones on Music Row are neither architectural wonders nor exceptionally old survivals. They are simply ordinary North American houses from the early 20th century, albeit houses where interesting and significant things have happened.

Preservationists in Nashville have tried to get around this problem of preserving what are essentially ordinary buildings by nominating the entire neighbourhood for the National Register in a Multiple Property Documentation Form, proposing a 'Music Row Cultural Industry District.'[50] Classifying Music Row as an historic district takes advantage of a loophole in the National Register criteria: 'Properties that have achieved significance within the past 50 years shall not be considered eligible for the National Register … However, such properties will qualify if they are integral parts of districts that do meet the criteria.'[51] As it stands, there are four Nashville properties listed on the Register and 64 properties eligible for the Register.[52] Because much of Music Row is less than 50 years old, preservationists must make the argument that the whole is greater than the sum of its parts in order to list properties, and that the properties that have achieved significance within the past 50 years are of 'exceptional importance.'[53] It is a difficult argument to make on a house-by-house basis, but grouped together, the case is stronger.

Just as development is not negative in and of itself, the recent push for preservation along Music Row is not by its nature simply positive either. There is a danger that conservation will become a static consecration that will market the city's tourist brand and reinforce the authorised heritage of Nashville, forgetting to benefit the neighbourhood itself and the quality of life of its residents. Picking out properties one-by-one to list on the National Register approaches the problem as if popular music heritage is amongst the most famous exports of a particular locality, rather than something woven throughout the entire fabric of the living city.[54] Neither does honorary listing on the National Register mean much to developers. A respondent to one survey pointed out: 'Designation is an excellent start, and it means something very dear to my own heart. However, I'm not sure what it will mean (if anything) to the developers who are actively stripping this town of its identity.'[55] At best, with this approach, preservation may become piecemeal 'consecration,' where these significant buildings are separated from the rest of the urban

landscape, and their role in contemporary communities is not considered holistically in city planning.[56]

Even if authorities do consider Music Row holistically, its role and reputation in country music heritage consciousness as a 'real community' could be used as a strong marketing tool.[57] Researchers at the National Trust for Historic Preservation speculated that 'there is the opportunity for Music Row to become Nashville's Broadway or Hollywood, in terms of a globally recognised brand.'[58] Country music has a history of 'manufactur[ing] heritage for its own economic gain' and Music Row could be the latest in this tradition, since its 'symbolic community … serves as a form of cultural capital within the music industry.'[59]

Heritage can be used to 'sell' places when those places are marketed in the context of a particular narrative.[60] Nashville is particularly skilled at this. The city 'has attempted to capture and preserve the artefacts and material spaces of sound,' and in doing so, place itself at the centre of the narrative of country music history.[61] At the Country Music Hall of Fame, the Ryman Auditorium, RCA Studio B, and the honky-tonks on Lower Broadway, the city 'locate[s] the sound of country music in physical, photogenic space'[62] (Figure 4). The result is a tourist industry worth 4 billion USD a year.[63]

Emphasis on economics becomes a problem, however, when the narrative presented to tourists becomes the only narrative, reinforcing the authorised heritage discourse.[64] In this case, the discourse dictates that country music only comes from Nashville, and the message becomes so dominant that 'country music musicians go to Nashville to claim they come from it.'[65] The city's music tourism industry presents what historian La Chapelle

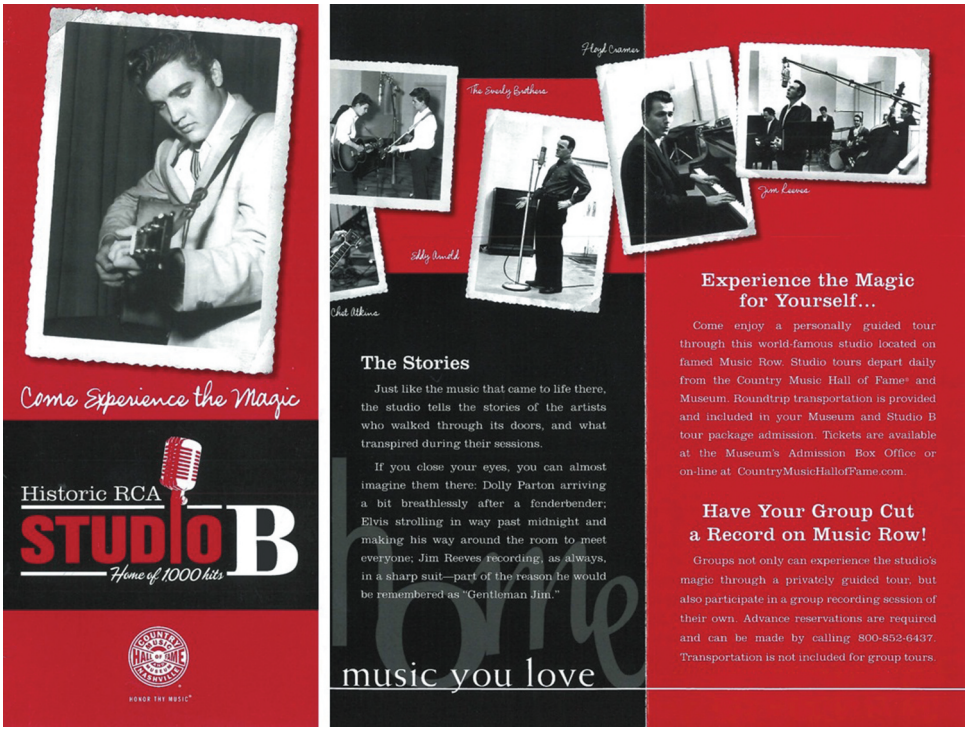

Figure 4. Tourist Pamphlet from RCA Studio B (Source: Author's Collection).

called 'white-washed tourist-friendly preservationism,' which tends to 'overlook country music's rich history of involvement in working-class life,' and also prevent country music from being associated with other geographical locations, including Texas, California, New England, and even the United Kingdom.[66]

For those who do call Nashville home, music heritage tourism and the authorised heritage discourse on which it depends can make 'places become *destinations* with cultures and economies that are profitably reshaped to fit external revenue streams and perceptions.'[67] Nashville becomes a place to visit, not a place to live. Music Row studios, Lower Broadway honky-tonks, downtown record shops, the Bluebird Café, the Ryman Auditorium, and the Grand Ole Opry become backdrops for photos, not a layered, complex built environment where past and present meaningfully coexist.

The rapid rate of development and change in Nashville is a fact. The optimum way forward is uncertain. In a recent study of a similar situation unfolding on London's Tin Pan Alley, Denmark Street, home to music and record shops, Graves-Brown and Schofield remarked: 'For heritage sites to have a sustainable future, we would suggest that they must have a life of their own.'[68] Music Row's proposed Cultural Industry District, with its Preservation Investment Trust, efforts to list significant structures, building codes that protect 'human scale,' and continued promotion of the Row's tradition of adaptive re-use, may very well allow Music Row to have a life of its own while also avoiding unsustainable change.[69] That way, development is a natural evolution, not an unrecognisable transformation, which maintains – but does not forcibly impose – the conditions for a creative environment.

One way in which Nashville's Music Row differs from London's Denmark Street is the attitude of its resident music genre towards heritage as an intellectual concept. Where Denmark Street's punk rock is 'iconoclastic' declaring that there is 'No Future!', Music Row's country could be seen in part as naturally more historically minded, lending itself more to conservation.[70] Evidenced by the loyalty that fans on both sides of the Atlantic feel for Nashville and the outcry over RCA Studio A, country music's built heritage helps give its listeners a solid foundation for 'the experiential, affective, and embodied contours of musical memory.'[71] The ultimate legacy of country music's built heritage is in that memory, not in marketing. The line, however, between 'the creation of socially and culturally meaningful places that serve as creative-places and enhance the well-being of resident communities .... [and] fabricated tourist attractions is very blurred.'[72] Music Row must walk that line.

Conclusion

As Rose-Lynn checks out of her Nashville motel the receptionist asks knowingly: 'Quitting already?' Rose-Lynn's response captures both her new-found determination, and her realisation that she has all she needs within her to succeed; Nashville merely provided the trigger: 'No,' she says. 'I am just kicking off.'

Nashville is both metaphor and reality. It illustrates two central themes in heritage thinking. First, that it is not places and things that matter so much as how people regard them and how they choose to manage them. People's views on places and things vary between interest groups and they will change over time. Heritage in this sense is fluid, never fixed. Second, is the relationship between the replica and the original, building on ideas around authenticity. How far the original can change and yet remain authentic is

one question. Another concerns the status of the replica. Is the Grand Ole Opry in Glasgow merely a replica of the original, or does it have authenticity in its own right? A central message of *Wild Rose* is that it does have authenticity, both in terms of fabric and perception.

This paper has suggested the possibility of two truths co-existing. First, that 'place' is portable. Country music heritage is about intangible values as much as it is about the bricks and mortar surviving within its spiritual home of Nashville. The second truth seems to be in conflict with the first, but in reality is in concert with it – that the heritage which *is* associated with Nashville's bricks and mortar could be protected from development, demolition, gentrification and unsustainable tourism by the very thing that seems counter-intuitive: encouraging other Nashvilles to grow. We conclude with the suggestion that this observation has wider relevance for understanding the authenticity of intangible heritage and for places where heritage is closely and uniquely aligned with a particular form of cultural practice.

Throughout *Wild Rose*, Rose-Lynn escapes the pressures if not boredom of her life and addresses her aspiration to be elsewhere through the country music playing in her headphones on bus journeys and while cleaning the house of her employer. Her music transforms her from her place on the streets of Glasgow to another place, more distant and less familiar. Yet it was her place and identity that mattered all along; a realisation she discovers by the end of the film. As the credits roll, the closing song, 'Glasgow (No Place Like Home),' puts her epiphany into words: 'Moon hanging low over my window/Shoebox of dreams hid under my bed/Follow the bright light city of gold/I had to leave to realize all I needed was here.'

Notes

1. Curtis Ellison, 'Keeping Faith: Evangelical Performance in Country Music,' in *Reading Country Music*, ed. Cecelia Tichi (Durham: Duke University Press, 1998), 124.
2. Paul Kingsbury and Alanna Nash, eds., *Country Music: The Complete Visual History* (London: Dorling Kindersley Limited, 2006), 275.
3. John Connell and Chris Gibson, *Sound Tracks: Popular Music, Identity, and Place* (London: Routledge, 2003), 240.
4. See discussion of Australian, British, and Swedish scenes in Sarah Baker and Alison Huber, 'Locating the Canon in Tamworth: Historical Narratives, Cultural Memory, and Australia's Country Music Capital,' *Popular Music* 32, no. 2 (2013): 223–240, https://doi.org/10.1017/S0261143013000081; Amy Bauder, 'Beyond the Bush Ballad: Authenticity in Australian Country Music.' (PhD diss., Macquarie University, Sydney, Australia, 2016); Thomas Bossius, 'Keep It Country! Lots of Fiddle and Steel! Negotiations and Re-negotiations in the Swedish Country Music Culture,' in *Made in Sweden: Studies in Popular Music*, eds. Alf Björnberg and Thomas Bossius, (London: Routledge, 2017), 91–102; Barrie Brennan, 'The Australian Country Music Hall of Fame: A DIY Museum and Archive in Australia's Country Music Capital,'' in *Preserving Popular Music Heritage: Do-it-Yourself, Do-it-Together*, ed. Sarah Baker (Abingdon: Routledge, 2015), 207–215; Sara Cohen, *Decline, Renewal and the City in Popular Music Culture: Beyond the Beatles (*Aldershot: Ashgate, 2007); Ruth Finnegan, *The Hidden Musicians: Music-Making in an English Town* (Middletown, Conn.: Wesleyan University Press, 1989).
5. National Trust for Historic Preservation, 'America's 11 Most Endangered Historic Places,' 30 May 2019, https://savingplaces.org/stories/11-most-endangered-historic-places-2019.

6. Aleen Leigh Stanton and John Schofield, 'In the Round: the Circular Heritage of Country Music,' *International Journal of Heritage Studies* 25, no. 10 (2019): 1034–1054, https://doi.org/10.1080/13527258.2018.1552614.
7. *Wild Rose*, directed by Tom Harper (Entertainment One, 2018).
8. The Shires, 'Nashville Grey Skies,' released 2015, track 2 on *Brave*, Decca, compact disc; *The Shires: New Country*, directed by Adrian Sibley (BBC, 2017).
9. Brett Lashua, 'Mapping the Politics of "Race," Place and Memory in Liverpool's Popular Music Heritage,' in *Sites of Popular Music Heritage*, eds. Sara Cohen, Robert Knifton, Marion Leonard, and Les Roberts (Abingdon: Routledge, 2015), 47.
10. *Ibid*.
11. *The Shires: New Country*.
12. Dexeter, 'Nashville You and Me,' released 2016, single, Decca, digital.
13. Mark Duffett, 'Why I Didn't Go Down to the Delta: The Cultural Politics of Blues Tourism,' in *Sites of Popular Music Heritage*, eds. Sara Cohen, Robert Knifton, Marion Leonard, and Les Roberts (Abingdon: Routledge, 2015), 248.
14. Dexeter, '4000 Miles to Nashville,' released 2015, track 6 on *Four Thousand Miles to Nashville*, independent release, digital.
15. Les Roberts, 'Talkin' Bout My Generation: Popular Music and the Culture of Heritage,' *International Journal of Heritage Studies* 20, no. 3 (2014), 273, https://doi.org/10.1080/13527258.2012.740497.
16. Connell and Gibson, 6.
17. Cohen, 71.
18. Finnegan, 111.
19. Stanton and Schofield, 1046.
20. See Connell and Gibson, 111–112; as well as Diane Pecknold, 'Heart of the Country? The Construction of Nashville as the Capital of Country Music,' in *Sounds and the City: Popular Music, Place, and Globalisation*, eds. Brett Lashua, Karl Spracklen, and Stephen Wagg (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2014), 19–37; Bill Malone, *Country Music U.S.A.* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1968).
21. Laurajane Smith, *Uses of Heritage* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2006); see also Pecknold, *passim*.
22. Christine Kreyling, 'Reading the Row,' in *Reading Country Music*, ed. Cecelia Tichi (Durham: Duke University Press, 1998), 307.
23. Roberts, 273.
24. See David Edelstein, 'Wild Rose Rests on the Extraordinary Performance of Its Country Girl,' *Vulture*, published 21 June 2019, https://www.vulture.com/2019/06/wild-rose-review-an-extraordinary-country-performance.html; Ben Kenigsberg, 'Wild Rose Review: A Glaswegian Singer Walks the Line,' *New York Times*, published 20 June 2019, https://www.nytimes.com/2019/06/20/movies/wild-rose-review.html; Mark Kermode, 'Wild Rose Review: Jessie Buckley plucks the heartstrings,' *The Guardian*, 14 April 2019, https://www.theguardian.com/film/2019/apr/14/wild-rose-review-jessie-buckley; Peter Travers, 'Wild Rose Review: Ballad of a Honky-Tonk Woman,' *Rolling Stone*, 19 June 2019, https://www.rollingstone.com/movies/movie-reviews/wild-rose-movie-review-849,604/.
25. Edelstein, 'Country Girl.'
26. *Ibid*.
27. Kermode, 'Wild Rose Review.'
28. Nashville Metropolitan Planning Department, 'Music Row Detailed Design Plan,' *Metro Government of Nashville*, prepared 2016, PDF available online: https://www.nashville.gov/Portals/0/SiteContent/Planning/docs/MusicRow/Music Row Detailed Design Plan Final.pdf; Carolyn Brackett and Randall Gross, 'A New Vision for Music Row: Recommendations and Strategies to Create a Music Row Cultural Industry District, Nashville, Tennessee,' *National Trust for Historic Preservation*, April 2016, PDF available online: http://media.wix.com/ugd/5f7598_a6f5336a49684822bd098ab5489d2c09.pdf; Robbie Jones and Carolyn Brackett, 'National Register of Historic Places Multiple Property Documentation Form: Historic Music Industry Resources, Nashville, Davidson County, Tennessee,' *US Department of the Interior,*

National Park Service, 2016, PDF available online: https://www.nps.gov/nr/feature/places/pdfs/64,501,268.pdf.

29. Bill Malone, 'Honky-Tonk: The Music of the Southern Working Class,' in *Popular Music: Critical Concepts in Media and Cultural Studies, Vol. 4 (Music and Identity)*, ed. Simon Frith (London: Routledge, 2004), 119.
30. See Joli Jensen, 'Honky-Tonking: Mass Mediated Culture Made Personal' in *All That Glitters: Country Music in America*, ed. George Lewis (Bowling Green, Ohio: Bowling Green State University Popular Press 1993), 118–130; Aaron Fox, 'Ain't It Funny How Time Slips Away?: Talk, Trash, and Technology in a Texas "Redneck" Bar,' in *Knowing Your Place: Rural Identity and Cultural Identity*, eds. Barbara Ching and Gerald Creed (London: Routledge, 1997), 105–130; Peter La Chapelle, *Proud to be an Okie: Cultural Politics, Country Music, and Migration to Southern California* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2007).
31. Nicholas Dawidoff, *In the Country of Country: A Journey to the Roots of American Music* (London: Faber and Faber, 1997), 291.
32. Michael Ann Williams and Larry Morrisey, 'Constructions of Tradition: Vernacular Architecture, Country Music, and Auto-Ethnography,' *Perspectives in Vernacular Architecture* 8, no. 1 (2000): 161–175, https://doi.org/10.2307/3514412.
33. Bill Malone, *Country Music U.S.A.*, 271; Jeremy Hill, '"Country Comes to Town": Country Music's Construction of a New Urban Identity in the 1960s,' *Popular Music and Society* 34, no. 3 (2011): 302, https://doi.org/10.1080/03007761003726233.
34. Jones and Brackett, 212.
35. Hill, 302; Brackett and Gross, 6.
36. Kreyling, 307.
37. Michael Kosser, *How Nashville Became Music City: 50 Years of Music Row* (New York: Hal Leonard, 2006),126.
38. Hofer qtd. in Hill, 302.
39. See Kreyling, *passim.*, as well as Brackett and Gross, *passim.*
40. Pecknold, *passim.*
41. See Nashville Metropolitan Planning Department, 'Detailed Design Plan'; Andrew Leahey, 'Nashville's Historic Studio A to Be Sold,' *Rolling Stone*, 25 June 2014, http://www.rollingstone.com/music/news/nashvilles-historic-rca-studio-a-to-be-sold-20,140,625.
42. Carolyn Brackett, 'Nashville's Music Row: A Historic Context,' National Trust for Historic Preservation. Unpublished draft document produced for the National Park Service Multiple Property Documentation Form, October 2015, PDF available online: http://media.wix.com/ugd/5f7598_f35f37ed7c004a30972f59ae698f2d56.pdf, 86; PBS News, 'Nashville's Storied Music Spaces Threatened with Silence,' Newshour, 12 December 2016, http://www.pbs.org/newshour/bb/nashvilles-storied-music-spaces-threatened-silence/.
43. Nashville Metropolitan Planning Department, 9; Brackett and Gross, 7.
44. Brackett and Gross, 7.
45. *Ibid.*, 15.
46. BBC Radio Scotland, 'Another Country with Ricky Ross,' 11 April 2017.
47. BBC Radio 2, 'Bob Harris Country,' 9 March 2017.
48. Sheryl Davis, 'Re:Musicology: Defining a National Landscape for the Study and Preservation of Rock "n" Roll's Built Heritage in America,' in *Preserving Popular Music Heritage: Do-it-Yourself, Do-it-Together*, ed. Sarah Baker (Abingdon: Routledge, 2015), 116–226.
49. Sheryl Davis, 'State of Rock 2012: A Current Look at the Built Heritage of 1950s Rock "n" Roll in America.' (MA Thesis, Savannah College of Art & Design, Savannah, Georgia, 2015).
50. See Jones and Brackett; Brackett and Gross.
51. National Park Service, 'Code of Federal Regulations: Title 36 – Parks, Forests, and Public Property; Chapter I – National Park Service, Department of the Interior; Part 60 – National Register of Historic Places; Section 60.4 – Criteria for evaluation (36 CFR 60.4),' *U.S. Government Publishing Office*, 2012, PDF available online: https://www.gpo.gov/fdsys/pkg/CFR-2012-title36-vol1/pdf/CFR-2012-title36-vol1-sec60-4.pdf, 335.
52. Jones and Brackett, 224–228.

53. *Ibid*., 211.
54. Andy Bennett, 'Popular Music and the "Problem" of Heritage,' in *Sites of Popular Music Heritage*, eds. Sara Cohen, Robert Knifton, Marion Leonard, and Les Roberts (Abingdon, Routledge, 2015), 23.
55. qtd. in Brackett and Gross, 26.
56. Andy Bennett and Susanne Janssen, 'Popular Music, Cultural Memory, and Heritage,' *Popular Music and Society* 39, no. 1 (2016), 2, https://doi.org/10.1080/03007766.2015.1061332; Steve Cheseborough, *Blues Travelling: The Holy Sites of the Delta Blues* (Jackson: University Press of Mississippi, 2001), 23.
57. Bennett, 17.
58. Brackett and Gross, 17.
59. Michael Ann Williams, ''What Have They Done to the Old Homeplace?': Traditional Architecture in the Country Music Industry,' *Traditional Dwellings and Settlement Review 10*, no. 1 (Fall 1998), 28, https://www.jstor.org/stable/41,757,436; Pecknold, 25.
60. Amanda Brandellero and Susanne Janssen, 'Popular Music as Cultural Heritage: Scoping the Field of Practice,' *International Journal of Heritage Studies* 20, no. 3 (2014), 233, https://doi.org/10.1080/13527258.2013.779294.
61. Connell and Gibson, 240–243.
62. *Ibid*., 240.
63. Pecknold, 33.
64. See Brett Lashua, Sara Cohen, and John Schofield, 'Popular Music, Mapping, and the Characterisation of Liverpool,' *Popular Music History* 4, no. 2 (2010): 126–144, https://doi.org/10.1558/pomh.v4i2.126; see also Smith.
65. Clifford Murphy, *Yankee Twang: Country and Western Music in New England* (Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 2014), 11.
66. La Chapelle, 15; see also Pecknold; Murphy; Cohen; and Finnegan.
67. Duffett, 248.
68. Paul Graves-Brown and John Schofield, 'The Most Awkward Building in England? The "Rotten" Heritage of "Tin Pan Alley" Revisited,' *Antiquity* 90, iss. 354 (December 2016), 1637, https://doi.org/10.15184/aqy.2016.217.
69. Brackett and Gross, 24; Kreyling, 310.
70. Paul Graves-Brown and John Schofield, 'The Filth and the Fury: 6 Denmark (London) and the Sex Pistols,' *Antiquity* 85, iss. 330 (November 2011), 1398, https://doi.org/10.1017/S0003598X00062128.
71. Les Roberts and Sara Cohen, 'Unauthorising Popular Music Heritage: Outline of a Critical Framework,' *International Journal of Heritage Studies* 20, no. 3 (2014), 252; see also Paul Graves-Brown, 'Where the Streets Have No Name: A Guided Tour of Pop Heritage Sites in London's West End,' in *The Good, the Bad, and the Unbuilt: Handling the Heritage of the Recent Past (BAR International Series 2362)*, eds. Sarah May, Hilary Orange, and Sefryn Penrose (Oxford: Archaeopress, 2012), 43–75.
72. Timothy Darvill, 'Rock & Soul: Humanizing Heritage, Memorializing Music and Producing Places,' *World Archaeology* 46, iss. 3 (2014): 462–476, https://doi.org/10.1080/00438243.2014.909096.

Disclosure Statement

No potential conflict of interest was reported by the authors.

Notes on contributors

Aleen Leigh Stanton is a music historian and heritage conservationist based in Nova Scotia, Canada. She holds an MA in Cultural Heritage Management from the University of York, England. Her recent

publications include 'In the Round: The Circular Heritage of Country Music' for the *International Journal of Heritage Studies* and 'The Invisible Island: Immigration, Environment, and a New Europe on Big Island, Nova Scotia' for *Acadiensis*. Her research interests include cultural landscapes, heritage and climate change, craftsmanship, and the complex relationship between music, place, and geography.

John Schofield was, until recently, Head of Archaeology at the University of York where he is also Director of Studies in Cultural Heritage Management. Before his appointment to York in 2010 John spent 21 years with England's lead heritage organisation English Heritage where he held roles in heritage protection and policy. John's varied research interests have long included the relationships that exist between music, identity and place and he has undertaken research across a diversity of music genres in Berlin, Malta, London and Nashville. John is a Docent at the University of Turku (Finland) as well as holding visiting positions at Flinders and Griffith universities in Australia.

Bibliography
Discography

Dexeter. "4000 Miles to Nashville." Released 2015. Track 6 on *Four Thousand Miles to Nashville*. Independent release, digital.
Dexeter. "Nashville You and Me." Released 2016. Single. Decca, digital.
The Shires. "Nashville Grey Skies." Released 2015. Track 2 on *Brave*. Decca, compact disc.

Radio and TV

BBC Radio 2, "Bob Harris Country", March 9, 2017.
BBC Radio Scotland, "Another Country with Ricky Ross", April 11, 2017.
The Shires: New Country, directed by Adrian Sibley (BBC, 2017).
Wild Rose, directed by Tom Harper (Entertainment One, 2018).

Text Sources

Baker, S., and A. Huber. "Locating the Canon in Tamworth: Historical Narratives, Cultural Memory, and Australia's Country Music Capital." *Popular Music* 32, no. 2 (2013): 223–240. https://doi.org/10.1017/S0261143013000081
Bauder, A. "Beyond the Bush Ballad: Authenticity in Australian Country Music." (PhD diss., Macquarie University, Sydney, Australia, 2016).
Bennett, A. "Popular Music and the 'Problem' of Heritage." In *Sites of Popular Music Heritage*, edited by S. Cohen, R. Knifton, M. Leonard, and L. Roberts, 15–27. Abingdon: Routledge, 2015.
Bennett, A., and S. Janssen. "Popular Music, Cultural Memory, and Heritage." *Popular Music and Society* 39, no. 1 (2016): 1–7. https://doi.org/10.1080/03007766.2015.1061332 .
Bossius, T. "Keep It Country! Lots of Fiddle and Steel! Negotiations and Re-negotiations in the Swedish Country Music Culture." In *Made in Sweden: Studies in Popular Music*, edited by A. Björnberg and T. Bossius, 91–102. London: Routledge, 2017.
Brackett, C. "Nashville's Music Row: A Historic Context." *National Trust for Historic Preservation*. Unpublished draft document produced for the National Park Service Multiple Property Documentation Form. October 2015. PDF available online: http://media.wix.com/ugd/5f7598_f35f37ed7c004a30972f59ae698f2d56.pdf
Brackett, C., and R. Gross. "A New Vision for Music Row: Recommendations and Strategies to Create a Music Row Cultural Industry District, Nashville, Tennessee." *National Trust for Historic Preservation*, April 2016, PDF available online: http://media.wix.com/ugd/5f7598_a6f5336a49684822bd098ab5489d2c09.pdf .

Brandellero, A., and S. Janssen. "Popular Music as Cultural Heritage: Scoping the Field of Practice." *International Journal of Heritage Studies* 20, no. 3 (2014): 224–240. https://doi.org/10.1080/13527258.2013.779294 .

Brennan, B. "The Australian Country Music Hall of Fame: A DIY Museum and Archive in Australia's Country Music Capital." In *Preserving Popular Music Heritage: Do-it-Yourself, Do-it-Together*, edited by S. Baker, 207–215. Abingdon: Routledge, 2015.

Cheseborough, S. *Blues Traveling: The Holy Sites of the Delta Blues*. University Press of Mississippi: Jackson, 2001.

Cohen, S. *Decline, Renewal and the City in Popular Music Culture: Beyond the Beatles*. Ashgate: Aldershot, 2007.

Connell, J., and C. Gibson. *Sound Tracks: Popular Music, Identity, and Place*. Routledge: London, 2003.

Darvill, T. "Rock & Soul: Humanizing Heritage, Memorializing Music and Producing Places." *World Archaeology* 46, no. 3 (2014): 462–476. https://doi.org/10.1080/00438243.2014.909096 .

Davis, S. "State of Rock 2012: A Current Look at the Built Heritage of 1950s Rock 'N' Roll in America." MA Thesis, Savannah College of Art & Design, Savannah, Georgia, 2012.

Davis, S. "Re:Musicology: Defining a National Landscape for the Study and Preservation of Rock 'n' Roll's Built Heritage in America." In *Preserving Popular Music Heritage: Do-it-Yourself, Do-it-Together*, edited by S. Baker, 116–226. Abingdon: Routledge, 2015.

Dawidoff, N. *In the Country of Country: A Journey to the Roots of American Music*. Faber and Faber: London, 1997.

Duffett, M. "Why I Didn't Go down to the Delta: The Cultural Politics of Blues Tourism." In *Sites of Popular Music Heritage*, edited by S. Cohen, R. Knifton, M. Leonard, and L. Roberts, 239–256. Abingdon: Routledge, 2015.

Edelstein, D. "Wild Rose Rests on the Extraordinary Performance of Its Country Girl." *Vulture*. Published June 21, 2019. https://www.vulture.com/2019/06/wild-rose-review-an-extraordinary-country-performance.html

Ellison, C. "Keeping Faith: Evangelical Performance in Country Music." In *Reading Country Music*, edited by C. Tichi, 121–152. Durham: Duke University Press, 1998.

Finnegan, R. *The Hidden Musicians: Music-Making in an English Town*. Wesleyan University Press: Middletown, Conn, 1989.

Fox, A. "Ain't It Funny How Time Slips Away?: Talk, Trash, and Technology in a Texas 'Redneck' Bar." In *Knowing Your Place: Rural Identity and Cultural Identity*, edited by B. Ching and G. Creed, 105–130. London: Routledge, 1997.

Graves-Brown, P., and J. Schofield. "The Filth and the Fury: 6 Denmark (London) and the Sex Pistols." *Antiquity* 85 (330), (December 2011): 1385–1401. https://doi.org/10.1017/S0003598X00062128 .

Graves-Brown, P. "Where the Streets Have No Name: A Guided Tour of Pop Heritage Sites in London's West End." In *The Good, the Bad, and the Unbuilt: Handling the Heritage of the Recent past (BAR International Series 2362)*, edited by S. May, H. Orange, and S. Penrose, 43–75. Oxford: Archaeopress, 2012.

Graves-Brown, P., and J. Schofield. "The Most Awkward Building in England? the 'Rotten' Heritage of 'Tin Pan Alley' Revisited." *Antiquity* 90, no. 354 (2016): 1629–1642. https://doi.org/10.15184/aqy.2016.217 .

Hill, J. "'Country Comes to Town': Country Music's Construction of a New Urban Identity in the 1960s." *Popular Music and Society* 34, no. 3 (2011): 293–308. doi:10.1080/03007761003726233.

Jensen, J. "Honky-Tonking: Mass Mediated Culture Made Personal." In *All that Glitters: Country Music in America*, edited by G. Lewis, 118–130. Bowling Green, Ohio: Bowling Green State University Popular Press, 1993.

Jones, R., and C. Brackett. "National Register of Historic Places Multiple Property Documentation Form: Historic Music Industry Resources, Nashville, Davidson County, Tennessee." *US Department of the Interior, National Park Service*. 2016. PDF available online: https://www.nps.gov/nr/feature/places/pdfs/64501268.pdf .

Kenigsberg, B. "Wild Rose Review: A Glaswegian Singer Walks the Line." New York Times. Published June 20, 2019. https://www.nytimes.com/2019/06/20/movies/wild-rose-review.html

Kermode, M. "Wild Rose Review: Jessie Buckley Plucks the Heartstrings." The Guardian. April 14, 2019. https://www.theguardian.com/film/2019/apr/14/wild-rose-review-jessie-buckley

Kingsbury, P., and A. Nash. eds. *Country Music: The Complete Visual History*. Dorling Kindersley Limited: London, 2006.

Kosser, M. *How Nashville Became Music City: 50 Years of Music Row*. New York: Hal Leonard, 2006.

Kreyling, C. "Reading the Row." In *Reading Country Music*, edited by C. Tichi, 307–321. Durham: Duke University Press, 1998.

La Chapelle, P. *Proud to Be an Okie: Cultural Politics, Country Music, and Migration to Southern California*. University of California Press: Berkeley, 2007.

Lashua, B. "Mapping the Politics of 'Race,' Place and Memory in Liverpool's Popular Music Heritage." In *Sites of Popular Music Heritage*, edited by S. Cohen, R. Knifton, M. Leonard, and L. Roberts, 45–61. Abingdon: Routledge, 2015.

Lashua, B., S. Cohen, and J. Schofield. "Popular Music, Mapping, and the characterization of Liverpool." *Popular Music History* 4, no. 2 (2010): 126–144. https://doi.org/10.1558/pomh.v4i2.126 .

Leahey, A. "Nashville's Historic Studio A to Be Sold." *Rolling Stone*. June 25, 2014. http://www.rollingstone.com/music/news/nashvilles-historic-rca-studio-a-to-be-sold–20140625

Malone, B. *Country Music U.S.A*. Austin: University of Texas Press, 1968.

Malone, B. "Honky-Tonk: The Music of the Southern Working Class." In *Popular Music: Critical Concepts in Media and Cultural Studies, Vol. 4 (Music and Identity)*, edited by S. Frith, 119–125. London: Routledge, 2004.

Murphy, C. *Yankee Twang: Country and Western Music in New England*. Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 2014.

Nashville Metropolitan Planning Department. "Music Row Detailed Design Plan." *Metro Government of Nashville*. Prepared 2016. PDF available online: https://www.nashville.gov/Portals/0/SiteContent/Planning/docs/MusicRow/MusicRowDetailedDesignPlanFinal.pdf

National Park Service. "Code of Federal Regulations: Title 36 - Parks, Forests, and Public Property; Chapter I – National Park Service, Department of the Interior; Part 60 – National Register of Historic Places; Section 60.4 - Criteria for Evaluation (36 CFR 60.4)." *U.S. Government Publishing Office*. 2012. PDF available online: https://www.gpo.gov/fdsys/pkg/CFR-2012-title36-vol1/pdf/CFR-2012-title36-vol1-sec60-4.pdf, 335.

National Trust for Historic Preservation. "America's 11 Most Endangered Historic Places." May 30, 2019. https://savingplaces.org/stories/11-most-endangered-historic-places–2019

PBS News. "Nashville's Storied Music Spaces Threatened with Silence." *Newshour*. December 12, 2016. http://www.pbs.org/newshour/bb/nashvilles-storied-music-spaces-threatened-silence/

Pecknold, D. "Heart of the Country? the Construction of Nashville as the Capital of Country Music." In *Sounds and the City: Popular Music, Place, and Globalisation*, edited by B. Lashua, K. Spracklen, and S. Wagg, 19–37. London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2014.

Roberts, L. "Talkin' Bout My Generation: Popular Music and the Culture of Heritage." *International Journal of Heritage Studies* 20, no. 3 (2014): 262–280. https://doi.org/10.1080/13527258.2012.740497 .

Roberts, L., and S. Cohen. "Unauthorising Popular Music Heritage: Outline of a Critical Framework." *International Journal of Heritage Studies* 20, no. 3 (2014): 241–261. https://doi.org/10.1080/13527258.2012.750619 .

Smith, L. *Uses of Heritage*. Routledge: Abingdon, 2006.

Stanton, A. L., and J. Schofield. "In the Round: The Circular Heritage of Country Music." *International Journal of Heritage Studies* 25, no. 10 (2019): 1034–1054. https://doi.org/10.1080/13527258.2018.1552614 .

Travers, P. "Wild Rose Review: Ballad of a Honky-Tonk Woman." *Rolling Stone*. June 19, 2019. https://www.rollingstone.com/movies/movie-reviews/wild-rose-movie-review–849604/

Williams, M. A. "'What Have They Done to the Old Homeplace?': Traditional Architecture in the Country Music Industry." *Traditional Dwellings and Settlement Review* 10, no. 1 (1998): 28. https://www.jstor.org/stable/41757436 .

Williams, M. A., and L. Morrisey. "Constructions of Tradition: Vernacular Architecture, Country Music, and Auto-Ethnography." *Perspectives in Vernacular Architecture* 8, no. 1 (2000): 161–175. https://doi.org/10.2307/3514412.